1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Aueti.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *alurí* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance.

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[19] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

[19] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER TWO

TRUMAÍ SUBSISTENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Vital Statistics

The population of the Trumaí village in 1938 was 43. This figure includes the 3 foreign women in residence and excludes those few Trumaí who were living with other groups. There were 17 men, 16 women, and 10 pre-pubescent children, of whom 8 were male and only 2 were female. Due to the previously mentioned capture and forced marriage of Trumaí women, the average age of females seems to have been considerably greater than that of males. Two men were considered by the Trumaí as old, while four women were placed in that category. This disparity of age undoubtedly had an influence on the Trumaí birth rate.

Infant mortality seems to have been high, and Quain was of the opinion that it was further aggravated by abortion and infanticide. The fact that there were eight male children and but two girls suggests that infanticide must have been practiced only upon females. Quain's notes, however, give no indication that this was the fact. Pulmonary diseases have devastated all the groups of the upper Xingú, but the drop in the Trumaí population from 43 in 1938 to 25 in 1948 is probably not paralleled in the other villages during that time.

Village and Gardens

The Trumaí settlement was located a scant half-mile from a lagoon that opened directly upon the east shore of the Kuluene just a few miles away. The mouth of the lagoon was narrow, but it broadened out into a lake of moderate size with many small bays and was ringed with swamps. Proximity to the river made insects a continual nuisance during the rainy season. The Kamayurá village, located near the sandy beaches of a lagoon lined with *buriti* palms, was relatively free of insects.

The village consisted of four houses and another under construction. Between the houses and the surrounding forest lay an area of weeds and low underbrush into which refuse was thrown. The ground within the ring of houses was kept comparatively free of weeds and litter. The village "plaza" was about 200 feet wide. In the center were the log bench and fireplace of the men's gathering place. Nearby was a conical wicker cage in which the village harpy eagle was kept for its feathers, which were used in ceremonies.

A /120 cont./
121 Schingú-Koblenz, /Xingu-Coblenz/, in order in this way to ob-
133 tain the exact connection with the geographical survey of the first expedition. It was the place where the Trumaí had appeared, were persuaded with difficulty to land, and had sped away in headlong flight.

A 122 It was not desirable for all of us to take part in this reconnaissance trip, since what mattered above all was to utilize the few hours available for an investigation of the Indians and there was little prospect /Pl. X appears here/ /121/ of coming across T a new tribe on that excursion. To be sure, the villages of the Trumaí would probably be passed, but we knew that they had fled after that battle with the Suyá and were roaming about in our vicinity, for individual Trumaí had appeared among the Auetó, the Yaulapiti, and the Kamayurá. We did not know where the nucleus of the tribe, which had every reason to fear a meeting with us, was hiding. There also had to be considered the possibility that the not very trustworthy Suyá were still somewhere near the mouth of the Kulisehu and had not yet returned home.

A 122 In order to satisfy all interests and at the same time take the necessary precautions, it was decided that Vogel should go to the Auetó harbor and there embark for Koblenz in two canoes with Perrot, Antonio, two soldiers, and a couple of Indians, and that we, on the other hand, would fill the time until his return with our investigations. Thus Vogel left the Kamayurá on 23 October and, as had been agreed, set out on the 25th from the Auetó harbor for the mouth of the Kuluëne.

The rest of us left our dear Kamayurá on 25 October early in the morning. We heard nothing more of Takuní and his desire for the journey to Cuyabá. We were accompanied, however, by a few Indians who carried our collection along the route through the unforgettable mangabeira groves and the forest to the W 122 second Yaulapiti village. Here we again had the stretch with 487 obstacles before us: across the northern lagoon and through a bit of canal to the first Yaulapiti village -- then another embarkation

[Text Continues on P. 110]

/122 cont./

123 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced
152 the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The
291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over
194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

●727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetö, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetö from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingü-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetö harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of
[162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all;
[352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetö plantation remained unused. The
[501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

T 123 /124 cont./ pocket along the way. A certain amount was obviously missing; I hope it was distributed among various fanciers and taken by them with some success for the skin diseases particularly common among the Yaulapiti.

T 126 Much as we were urged to depart, we still had to undertake at least the most important body measurements and would not relent; seven men were measured in haste, in between our packing, and the only photographic plate left was used for a group shot -- unfortunately ruined later.

T 122 At 9:45 we set out in two canoes, accompanied by four Trumaí. Three times one would have to sleep, they said, before reaching their villages. The Mehinakú could also be reached by way of the canals and only one day was needed to their second village. At 11:00 we landed near the Auetó village, at a place other than where we had left. In the damp T [136] leaves lay huge quantities of giant earthworms; wherever one put his foot, he stepped on them. The path led us to the two huts of the Yaulapiti-Auetó families.

T 361 It is advisable to insert here what Vogel and Perrot reported about the Trumaí villages after their return home from Schingú-Koblenz. They had not caught sight of an Indian, but below the place where the Kulisehu empties into the Kuluëne, on a bank five meters high, they had found one Trumaí village of eight houses and, a kilometer farther east, a second one of five T houses with buildings under construction among them. The 727 Suyá had burned down all the houses and smashed whatever T was left of large pots and utensils. There were plantings of re- 241 markably large size and careful cultivation directly adjoining the T villages. About ten fresh graves were noted; judging from the 764 circular excavation, the corpses had been buried in a squatting position. They seemed to lie deep; at least they were /125/ not uncovered by some superficial subsequent digging. Antonio B had been very alarmed when Perrot said to him: "o doutor Carlos 186 precisa d'uma cabeça /Doctor Carlos wants a head/." It was only with great effort that Antonio had been persuaded to go along on the trip and expose himself to the possibility of meeting the detested Trumaí.